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HAKTO 15

MARCH 27, 1974

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: JERRY BREMER

PLEASE PASS TO ZIEGLER

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE EXCHANGE OF TOASTS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AT SPASO HOUSE MARCH 27. THE TEXTS HAVE BEEN RELEASED TO THE PRESS.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S TOAST:

MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:

ON BEHALF OF ALL OF MY COLLEAGUES, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY HOSPITALITY WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE.

THE LAST TIME I WAS IN THIS HOUSE WAS THE EVENING AT WHICH THE STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND I NEGOTIATED THROUGH THE BETTER PART OF THE NIGHT AND THEN WE ASSEMBLED AGAIN IN THE MORNING AND CAME TO A CONCLUSION, AND BY THAT EVENING THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. IT WAS A VERY MOMENTOUS OCCASION BECAUSE IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE TWO GREATEST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, THE TWO MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD ACCEPTED VOLUNTARY RESTRICTIONS. IT WAS IMPORTANT ALSO BECAUSE IT SYMBOLIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD PRESERVING THE PEACE OF THE WORLD. THEY EXERCISE THIS RESPONSIBILITY IN WHAT THEY DO TOWARDS EACH OTHER AND THEY EXERCISE IT IN RELATION TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD AS WELL. SINCE WE HAVE STARTED ON THIS COURSE, IT HAS BEEN A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY TO BRING ABOUT A SITUATION IN WHICH THE TWO COUNTRIES CAN BE MORE SECURE WITH EACH OTHER AND IN WHICH THEY CAN USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO HELP BRING PEACE TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD AS WELL. THIS PRINCIPLE HAS AGAIN BEEN CONFIRMED IN OUR MEETINGS HERE; AND AS WE PREPARE FOR THE SUMMIT OF THIS YEAR, WE HOPE TO MAKE MORE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS BY WHATEVER CONCRETE AGREEMENTS CAN BE REACHED. THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT OF ALL, WHICH IS NOT WRITTEN DOWN, IS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE COMMITTED TO A CONSTANT IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR RELATIONS. THEY WILL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD A POLICY OF COOPERATION EVEN IF TEMPORARY OBSTACLES MIGHT ARISE. THIS WILL BE THE GOAL OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE FREQUENCY OF OUR MEETINGS TESTIFIES TO THE FACT IT IS ALSO THE GOAL OF SOVIET POLICY.

SO IT IS TO THIS SPIRIT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO YOU, MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, AND ALL YOUR ASSOCIATES, AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

END TEXT.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, GENTLEMEN, COMRADES:

WE WISH TO THANK YOU FIRST OF ALL FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY. MANY IMPORTANT THINGS HAVE INDEED BEEN ACHIEVED IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. FIRST AND FOREMOST, THEY HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED AS A RESULT OF THE TWO SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETINGS, DURING THE VISIT TO THE CAPITAL OF THIS COUNTRY OF U.S. PRESIDENT MIXON, AND DURING THE VISIT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION BREZHNEV TO THE UNITED STATES. THE AGREEMENTS THEN CONCLUDED ARE OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE, BOTH FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND FOR THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE. THUS WE CAN SAY THAT A TRULY SOLID FOUNDATION, A TRULY STRONG FOUNDATION HAS BEEN CREATED FOR FURTHER MOVEMENT AHEAD TOWARDS THE DEEPENING, THE BROADENING, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

THE TASK NOW IS, AND I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT BOTH YOU AND WE ARE IN AGREEMENT OF THIS, TO USE THESE ACHIEVEMENTS AND THIS STRONG FOUNDATION FOR FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS THE STILL GREATER IMPROVEMENT OF THOSE RELATIONSHIPS. THIS IS THE GOAL THAT MUST BE SERVED BY THE FORTHCOMING SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING. IT IS THIS GOAL, TOO, THAT MUST BE SERVED BY THIS PRESENT MEETING DURING YOUR VISIT TO MOSCOW.

WHAT WE WANTED TO SEE IN RESULTS FROM THIS MEETING INsofar AS THE SOVIET SIDE IS CONCERNED, WAS CLEARLY DEFINED BY GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV DURING HIS FIRST MEETING WITH YOU, AND THAT IS SUCCESS. A SUCCESS THAT WILL BE OF BENEFIT TO OUR TWO PEOPLES AND TO WORLD PEACE. THE PROBLEMS FACING THE PARTICIPANTS IN THESE EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ARE IMPORTANT, AND AT THE SAME TIME COMPLEX. WE CAN FIRMLY SAY FOR OURSELVES, AND THIS IS SOMETHING THAT YOU HAVE HEARD UTTERED BY GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV, WE ARE IN FAVOR OF THAT. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF SUCH RESULTS. WE VALUE ESPECIALLY THE WORDS YOU UTTERED JUST NOW TO THE EFFECT THAT YOU ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THAT LINE. AND THAT IS OUR LINE, TOO, IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. IT IS THE LINE OF OUR COUNTRY, OUR PEOPLE, OUR PARTY, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND ITS POLITBURO, AND PERSONALLY THE LINE OF GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. WE FEEL THAT THE FURTHER STEPS THAT WE CAN TAKE AND THE FURTHER EFFORTS WE CAN MAKE WILL DEPEND ON THAT JOINT DETERMINATION OF BOTH OUR SIDES, AS HAS INDEED BEEN STATED BY BOTH OF US. FOR, INDEED, A TUNNEL HAS TO BE BUILT FROM BOTH ENDS. AND THAT IS TRUE NOT ONLY IN TUNNEL BUILDING. IT IS TRUE IN POLITICS, TOO. IT WOULD BE GOOD, VERY GOOD INDEED, IF THIS NEW MEETING COULD CULMINATE IN GOOD, OR BETTER STILL, IN EXCELLENT RESULTS. WE COULD THEN TRANSFER ALL THESE RESULTS INTO GUARANTEES OF SUCCESS FOR ALL SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS.

MAY I PROPOSE A TOAST TO OUR FURTHER GOOD RELATIONS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT, TO THE SUCCESS AND THE GOOD RESULTS OF THIS MEETING, AND, LOOKING AHEAD, MAY I ALSO DRINK TO THE RESULTS OF THE FORTHCOMING SUMMIT MEETING BECAUSE THIS IS INDEED WHAT WE WANT TO SEE.

TO YOUR HEALTH, MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, AND TO THE HEALTH OF THE OTHER AMERICANS PRESENT.

I ASK YOU ALL TO RAISE YOUR GLASSES.

END TEXT.

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TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: JERRY BRIMER

PLEASE PASS TO ZIEGLER

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: EXCHANGE OF TOASTS AT LUNCHEON MARCH 27

ACTION: SecState WASHDC

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SECTO 36

1. The following is the exchange of toasts which took place at a luncheon hosted by the Secretary for Foreign Minister Gromyko at Spaso House March 27. The ~~XXXXXX~~ texts have been ~~are now being~~ released to the press.

2. Begin text of the Secretary's toast:

Mr. Foreign Minister, Distinguished Guests:

On behalf of all of my colleagues, I would like to thank you for the extraordinary hospitality we have received here.

The last time I was in this house was the evening at which the Strategic Arms Agreement was signed. The Foreign Minister and I negotiated through the better part of the night and then we assembled again in the

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morning and came to a conclusion, and by that evening the agreement was signed. It was a very momentous occasion because it was the first time that the two greatest countries in the world, the two most powerful countries in the world accepted voluntary restrictions. It was important also because it symbolized that the United States and the Soviet Union have great responsibility toward preserving the peace of the world. They exercise this responsibility in what they do towards each other and they exercise it in relation to other parts of the world as well. Since we have started on this course, it has been a fundamental principle of our foreign policy to bring about a situation in which the two countries can be more secure with each other and in which they can use their influence to help bring peace to other parts of the world as well. This principle has again been confirmed in our meetings here; and as we prepare for the summit of this year, we hope to make more significant progress by whatever concrete agreements can be reached. The most fundamental agreement of all, which is not written down, is that the United States and the Soviet Union are committed to a constant improvement of their relations. They will strive to maintain in all parts of the world a policy of cooperation even if temporary obstacles might arise. This will ~~XXXX~~

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be the goal of American foreign policy, and the frequency of our meetings testifies to the fact it is also the goal of Soviet policy.

So it is to this spirit that I would like to propose a toast to you, Mr. Foreign Minister, and all your associates, and to the strengthening of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union.
End Text.

3. Begin text of The Foreign Minister's toast:

Mr. Secretary of State, Gentlemen, Comrades:

We wish to thank you first of all for your hospitality. Many important things have indeed been achieved in Soviet-American relations. First and foremost, they have been achieved as a result of the two Soviet-American summit meetings, during the visit to the capital of this country of U.S. President Nixon, and during the visit of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Brezhnev to the United States. The agreements then concluded are of paramount importance, both for our two countries and for the cause of world peace. Thus we can say that a truly solid foundation, a truly strong foundation has been created for further movement ahead towards the deepening, the broadening, and the improvement of Soviet-American relations.

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The task now is, and I am happy to say that both you and we are in agreement of this, to use these achievements and this strong foundation for further steps towards the still greater improvement of those relationships. This is the goal that must be served by the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting. It is ~~this~~ this goal, too, that must be served by this present meeting during your visit to Moscow.

What we wanted to see in results from this meeting insofar as the Soviet side is concerned, was clearly defined by General Secretary Brezhnev during his first meeting with you, and that is success. A success that will be of benefit to our two peoples and to world peace. The problems facing the participants in these exchanges of views are important, and at the same time complex. We can firmly say for ourselves, and this is something that you have heard uttered by General Secretary Brezhnev, we are in favor of that. We are in favor of such results. We value especially the words you uttered just now to the effect that you are firmly committed to that line. And that is our line, too, in Soviet-American relations. It is the line of our country, our people, our Party, the Central Committee and its Politburo, and personally the line of General Secretary Brezhnev. We feel that the further steps that we can take and the further efforts

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we can make will depend on that joint determination of both our sides, as has indeed been stated by both of us. For, indeed, a tunnel has to be built from both ends. And that is true not only in tunnel building. It is true in politics, too. It would be good, a very good indeed, if this new meeting could culminate in good, or better still, in excellent results. We could then transfer all these results into guarantees of success for all subsequent meetings.

May I propose a toast to our further good relations and their development, to the success and the good results of this meeting, and, looking ahead, may I also drink to the results of the forthcoming summit meeting because this is indeed what we want to see.

To your health, Mr. Secretary of State, and to the health of the other Americans present.

I ask you ~~to~~ all to raise your glasses.

End Text.

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KISSINGER

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